

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1526

S E C R E T PORT AU PRINCE 0433

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REF OMITTED AND PARA 1 LINE 9  
SHOUDL READ INTENSELY VICE INTENTLY)

FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS 2

TAGS: PINR PINT HA

SUBJ: PLOTTING BY EXILES

REF: STATE 036580

1. IN MY JUDGMENT, US INTERESTS IN HAITI COMPEL US TO WARN  
DUVALIER OF THIS PLOT. IF WE DO NOT, AND PLOT SUCCEEDS  
(AS IT MAY WELL, GIVEN CAREFUL PLANNING EVIDENT AND VIETNAM  
COMBAT EXPERIENCE OF THE WOULD-BE ASSASSINS), WE FACE AN  
IMMEDIATE PERIOD OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN HAITI, MARKED BY ALL  
THE INCESSANT AND SHORT-SIGHTED JOCKEYING FOR POWER AND POSITION  
WHICH HAS BEEN THE CURSE OF HAITIAN HISTORY.  
INHERENT SOCIAL ANTAGONISMS, NOTABLY THE MULATTO/BLACK  
SCHISM, WOULD BE INTENSLEY AND VIOLENTLY REVIVED; PROVINCIAL  
AUTHORITY WOULD DISSIPATE; FACTIONS OF THE  
ARMED FORCES LOYAL TO DUVALIER, WHO ARE WELL ARMED AND TRAINED  
WOULD STRIKE BACK; AND CHAOS WOULD ENSUE. FEW IF ANY FOREIGN  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS COULD CARRY ON OPERATIONS UNDER  
SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, AND ONCE  
SUSPENDED THESE PROGRAMS COULD NOT QUICKLY BE RESUSCITATED. THE  
HAITIAN PEOPLE FOR WHOSE BENEFIT OUR COLLECTIVE EFFORTS ARE  
BEING MADE, WOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL ONES TO SUFFER.

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2. THER IS ANOTHER FACTOR. WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY, SINCE 1971,

ENCOURAGED JEAN-CLAUDE DUVALIER TO PURSUE HIS POLICIES OF OPENNESS, RELAXATION OF POLITICAL REPRESSION, PRIORITY TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. WHILE FAR FROM PERFECT, HIS ADMINISTRATION REPRESENTS A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT OVER THAT OF HIS FATHER; AND COULD BEAR COMPARISON WITH ANY PAST HAITIAN REGIME. AS HIS MATURITY AND SELF-CONFIDENCE GROW -- AND THE ASSURANCE OF US SUPPORT IS A CENTRAL INGREDIENT OF THAT CONFIDENCE -- DUVALIER MAY BE EXPECTED TO CONSOLIDATE AND EXTEND HIS POLICIES, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF WHAT HE JUDGES POLITICALLY POSSIBLE. OUR FAILURE TO WARN HIM WOULD BE TACIT CONNIVANCE IN AN EFFORT TO REMOVE HIM VIOLENTLY FROM THE SCENE. SUCH CONNIVANCE MIGHT IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES BE JUSTIFIED, BUT AGAINST THE RECORD OF OUR DEVELOPING RELATIONS AND DUVALIER'S SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THIS IS NOT THE CASE NOW. OUR WITHHOLDING OF SUCH WARNING WOULD THUS BE CLEARLY CONTRARY TO OUR OWN INTERESTS. WERE IT TO BECOME KNOWN, IT WOULD SUPPLY EVIDENCE, TO OTHER SMALL NATIONS, OF UNPRINCIPLED BEHAVIOR.

3. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ALERTING DUVALIER, EVEN USING ONLY THE CONCRETE DETAIL OF LOCALE, WOULD SET BACK OR REVERSE RECENT MOVES TOWARD LIBERALIZATION OF THE REGIME. SECURITY OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH A CRACKDOWN, NOTABLY COL. VALME, HAVE PROVED SELECTIVE AND SOPHISTICATED IN PAST; DUVALIER HIMSELF KNOWS THAT CLIMATE OF PEACE IS ESSENTIAL TO

HIS DREAM OF REVIVING HAITI, WITH FOREIGN HELP; AND DUVALIER, UNLIKE HIS FATHER, DOES NOT TAKE PLEASURE IN INFLECTING RUTHLESS RANDOM REPRISALS. EVEN IF THERE IS A SEVERE CRACK-DOWN, HOWEVER, IT IS NOT LIKELY TO BRING ABOUT A REVERSAL OF THE TREND ESTABLISHED OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS TOWARD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, WHICH IN THE LONG RUN OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR PROMOTING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM IN HAITI.

4. RECOMMENDATION: I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT I BE AUTHORIZED TO CONVEY WARNING TO DUVALIER IMMEDIATELY.  
ISHAM

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NNN

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